

Translated from Spanish

PERMANENT MISSION OF CUBA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

No. 342

24 July 1963

Sir,

On the instructions of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the honour to transmit a copy of the note, dated 19 July, which Mr. Raúl Roa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, addressed to His Excellency Mr. M. Ruzek, Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at Washington, D.C., for communication to the Department of State of the United States of America:

Havana, 19 July 1963

Sir,

On behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, I have the honour to request that, as the agency representing Cuban interests in the United States of America, the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at Washington D.C., under your worthy care, present the following note to the Department of State:

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba places on record its most vigorous protest to the Government of the United States of America against the measures ordered by the Treasury Department, at the request of the Secretary of State, which arbitrarily freeze all Cuban assets in the United States and prohibit any transfer of United States dollars to or from Cuba as well as all other financial transactions with Cuba, including any dollar transactions through third countries.

His Excellency U Thant,
Secretary-General of the United Nations,
New York.

In the statement on the matter issued by the State Department, it is argued with characteristic shamelessness that this action has been taken in accordance with the resolution - completely illegal and arbitrary - adopted on 3 July 1963 by the Council of the Organization of American States and with the twofold purpose of "contributing" further to the economic isolation of Cuba and "denying" Cuba the use of United States facilities for "transfers of funds to Latin America for subversive purposes".

To be sure, an exception to the application of these measures is made for the assets of Cuban nationals residing in the United States or elsewhere in the free world, and, "where serious hardship can be proven, remittances by persons residing in the United States to members of their immediate family residing in Cuba will be authorized by special licence".

The completely unprincipled basis of United States foreign policy - a typical product of imperialist hypocrisy and avarice - is crudely exhibited by this clumsy, evil and useless attempt to starve the Cuban people into submission and reimpose on it the yoke of the iniquitous system of colonial exploitation, from which they have freed themselves for ever; by their very nature and by their implications such measures, which flagrantly violate the Principles of the United Nations Charter and the most elementary principles of international law, involve an attack on the freedom of trade and a threat to world peace and security, and once again identify those who are alone responsible for the existing tension in the Caribbean region.

It is not the Government and people of Cuba that will be surprised by this new act of aggression, the latest in the interminable series of acts of aggression of every kind to which they have been subjected ever since the overthrow of the brutal tyranny of Batista - the creature of the United States monopolies, a model of "representative democracy" for the Government of former President Eisenhower. One can imagine, however, what confusion and discomfiture it must have caused among their more sensible allies and especially among United States citizens who heard or read the speech delivered by President Kennedy on 10 June at American University in Washington, in which he said that there was "no more urgent task" than "the pursuit of peace", expressed readiness to "re-examine" the attitude of the United States to the problem and declared that "world peace ... requires only that men live together with mutual tolerance, submitting their disputes to a just and peaceful settlement", since "history teaches us that enmities between nations, as between individuals, do not last forever".

The attitude of the Government of Cuba towards the Government of the United States of America is governed by a foreign policy that is based on principles which are consistently upheld and logically developed. Whereas Cuba, before 1 January 1959, had no voice of its own in international bodies and followed the dictates of United States policy, revolutionary and socialist Cuba bases its foreign policy on the effective exercise of the powers inherent in its sovereignty, the sovereign equality of nations, respect for the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom of trade, solution of international disputes through negotiations, and peaceful coexistence with all countries, irrespective of the structure of their social system. It is in the light of those principles that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba conducts its international relations and has tried to conduct its relations and settle its differences with the Government of the United States, so far without any reaction other than pressure, harassment, provocation, interference, subversion, trade embargo, economic strangulation, transformation of the Organization of American States into a device for collective aggression, armed attack, naval blockade, threat of thermonuclear annihilation and freezing of funds.

It can be stated categorically that, since the victory of the Cuban revolution, the Government of the United States has refused to take a single step to change the climate of violence and tension produced by its obstinate rejection of the course of national development freely chosen by the Cuban people.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba can show abundant evidence of its willingness to engage in the bilateral negotiation of its differences with the United States Government, on a footing of equality and with an open agenda. Its words embody the principles it proclaims and reflect consistent behaviour, in marked contrast to those of the Government of the United States of America, which are woefully discredited by their inconsistencies and contradictions.

In the note of 15 June 1959 addressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the United States Embassy, in reply to its note of 11 June 1959 dealing with the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Act and indicating the subsequent policy of the United States Government, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba stated its willingness to discuss reasonable terms for the payment of compensation to United States owners liable to expropriation, in keeping with its principles.

The note of 13 November 1959 addressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the United States Embassy, which refuted certain judgements and opinions expressed on behalf of his Government by Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal to the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, state inter alia:

"The Cuban Government and people wish to live together in peace and friendship and to extend, on a basis of mutual respect and

reciprocal benefit, their diplomatic and economic relations with the Government and people of the United States of America. This is extremely easy if, on the one hand, the passing interests of a small group of United States citizens are no longer identified with the lasting interests which should govern relations between two traditionally friendly peoples which have been and are good and sympathetic neighbours, and if, on the other, an end is definitely put to the counter-revolutionary activities of the Cuban war criminals who have found asylum in United States territory and if United States citizens who instigate and support these criminal activities against Cuba are prohibited from doing so."

On 27 January 1960, in reply to statements made by President Eisenhower, the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, declared:

"The differences of opinion which may exist between the two Governments, being subject to diplomatic negotiation, can in fact be settled by means of such negotiation. The Government of Cuba is entirely willing to discuss all those differences without reservation and to the fullest extent and expressly states that in its view there are no obstacles of any kind which should prevent the carrying out of such negotiations by means of one or another of the methods and instruments traditionally appropriate to that end. The Government of Cuba wishes to maintain and expand its diplomatic and economic relations with the Government and people of the United States on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocal benefits for both countries and considers that on this basis the traditional friendship between the peoples of Cuba and the United States will prove indestructible."

In keeping with this principled position, on 22 February 1960 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cuba delivered to the United States Embassy a note of which the relevant part read:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba, in accordance with its expressed proposal to renew through diplomatic channels the negotiations already begun on matters pending between Cuba and the United States of America, has decided to name a commission, qualified for the purpose, which could begin its negotiations in Washington on the date on which the two parties might agree."

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba wishes to make it clear, however, that the renewal and subsequent development of the said negotiations must necessarily be subject to no measure being adopted, by the Government or the Congress of your country, of a unilateral character which might prejudice the results of the aforementioned negotiations or cause harm to the Cuban economy and people. It seems obvious to add that the adherence of your Government to this point of view would not only contribute to the improvement of relations between our respective countries but also reaffirm the spirit of fraternal friendship which has bound and does bind our peoples. It would moreover permit both Governments to examine, in a serene atmosphere and with the broadest scope, the questions which have affected the traditional relations between Cuba and the United States of America."

In a letter addressed to Chilean students on 10 April 1960, the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, stated:

"Cuba has reiterated its readiness to negotiate with the United States, as with any other country, on the same terms: absolute equality, respect for national sovereignty, a formal pledge not to take unilateral measures of reprisal, reciprocity of treatment."

On 18 July 1960, on the occasion of its first complaint to the United Nations Security Council against the aggressive policy of the United States Government, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba stated through its Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba therefore reiterates in this universal parliament of nations its readiness to settle its differences with the Government of the United States through normal diplomatic channels, on a footing of equality and in accordance with the international obligations undertaken by both countries."

On 26 September 1960, speaking in the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro, declared:

"The Government of Cuba has always been prepared to discuss its problems with the Government of the United States, but the Government of the United States has not been willing to discuss its problems with Cuba."

In a speech on demobilization delivered on 20 January 1961, the day of President Kennedy's inauguration, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro, said this:

"What can we say about the prospects of peace for our country and peace for the world? Only that we welcome this occasion as we welcome this peace. Let us hope that ascendancy in the United States Government

will be won by those who are capable of understanding the tremendous responsibility they have to the world. Let us hope that they will have the firmness and courage to speak honestly to the people of the United States. Let us hope that they will understand this to be the duty that lies before them, and that they will be successful if they make this effort. We would welcome any rectification. We know what the new President of the United States has ahead of him. If he strikes out on an honest course of rectifying matters for the good of the world and of his own country, we wish him success. In the meantime we shall wait for deeds, which are more eloquent than words."

At the Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Belgrade in September 1961, the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, referring to the various occasions on which the Revolutionary Government had declared its determination to submit all its pending differences with the United States Government to bilateral negotiation through normal diplomatic channels, had this to say:

"Not only did we again express our desire to live in peace and to develop our country without external military conflicts but we also proposed, and explicitly stated our readiness to accept, the friendly mediation of various Latin American Governments in exploring the possibility of just and honourable negotiations with the Government of the United States."

On 10 October 1961, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Dr. Raúl Roa, speaking in the General Assembly of the United Nations, said:

"Cuba is a small country which asks only to be allowed to work out its own life in peace. It does not and cannot constitute a threat to any country, least of all to the United States, whose arsenals are overflowing with thermonuclear bombs and rockets. Cuba has declared over and over again that it is prepared to settle its differences with the United States through bilateral negotiations, on a footing of equality and with an open agenda, excluding only the subject of its independence and sovereignty, which are not negotiable."

At the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, held in January 1962, the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, declared:

"From the time of the initial worsening of Cuban-United States relations up to the present day, Cuba has always been prepared to negotiate the differences between the United States and Cuba, through normal diplomatic channels or by any appropriate means. For instance, as is proclaimed in the statement by our Council of Ministers, Cuba could have compensated United States citizens and interests affected by the revolutionary laws if economic aggression had not intervened and if the Government of that country had been willing to negotiate on a basis of respect for the wishes, the dignity and the sovereignty of our people."

On 8 October 1962, the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, stated in the United Nations General Assembly:

"On many occasions - and I could not possibly cite them all because they are numberless - we declared publicly, and sometimes in diplomatic notes, our readiness to negotiate our differences with the United States Government with an open agenda and through normal diplomatic channels. The United States Government has stated its refusal to negotiate, and has done so publicly and in private diplomatic meetings, when - and some of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs present at this meeting will bear out what I am about to say - we welcomed the offers of good offices made by friendly countries in this continent, offers which the United States refused. Yet we are the ones who want to disturb the peace of the continent!"

In the speech made on 19 April 1963, the second anniversary of the victory of Playa Girón, Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, stated:

"The Cuban revolutionary has stood for peace; all that the Cuban revolution has done is defend itself. We are not at war. We want peace. We are not an obstacle to peace, but this has never depended upon us. Our sole attitude is: if they follow a policy of peace, we follow a policy of peace; if they follow a policy of aggression, we go on defending ourselves by all means and with all the weapons at our disposal."

When, on his return from the Soviet Union, he appeared on television Dr. Fidel Castro stated:

"Our policy with regard to the United States is the policy which we have stated on various occasions, the policy which we set

forth at the meeting in the Lenin Stadium - our willingness to bring our relations back to normal if they so desire. We even made some statements in an interview with a United States journalist before leaving for the Soviet Union. He asked questions about compensation - if they want to discuss compensation, we will discuss it; for us, there will be no question of not discussing it. We have said this as a matter of principle, because the policy of peace is a policy of principles: we are prepared to enter into discussions; we are prepared to bring our relations back to normal."

What was the reply of the United States Government to the policy of principles of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba?

The following is a summary of what has happened:

1. On 1 January 1959, the United States Government offered hospitality and political asylum to the war criminals who fled from Cuba on the fall of the Batista tyranny.

Between 15 January and 15 September 1959, the Congressional Record contained on seventy-five occasions statements by Congressmen opposing the Revolutionary Government of Cuba or Press attacks on Cuba reproduced at the request of Congressmen. On 15 January, also, representative Victor Anfuso demanded military intervention in Cuba.

2. Again on 15 January, at the instigation of the United States Government, a growing campaign of defamation against the Cuban Revolution was launched on the occasion of the penalties imposed by the courts on war criminals responsible for the murder of more than 20,000 persons.

Representative Wayne Hays stated that the sending of troops to Cuba should be considered, together with the possibility of imposing economic sanctions, such as the reduction of the sugar quota, and a trade boycott.

3. As soon as the Land Reform Act was promulgated, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and former President Eisenhower joined together in promoting, organizing and financing an invasion of Cuba, using counter-revolutionary elements and mercenaries. Admiral Arleigh Burke acted as agent provocateur for the Pentagon. He urged the officers of the Armed Forces Reserve to do something, and at the same time he proposed the establishment of a hemispheric submarine network - in case there was any need for joint action against Cuba.

4. The United States Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security opens its doors to all deserters from the Cuban Armed Forces and all the war criminals who have received asylum in the United States so that they can spread their lies and slander.

5. The United States Embassy in Cuba became a centre of espionage, conspiracy and subversion against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

6. Illegal flights from United States territory, over Cuban territory, have increased in number, and weapons and ammunitions are dropped by parachute for the counter-revolutionary movement organized and directed by the CIA.

7. Many aircraft and light aircraft proceeding from United States territory have dropped incendiary bombs on sugar-mills and on many sugar plantations in various provinces. One of these aircraft crashed, destroyed by its own bombs, at the España sugar-mill in Matanzas Province, and the pilot was identified as Robert Ellis Frost, a United States citizen.

8. The city of Havana machine-gunned by a twin-engined aircraft proceeding from United States territory, the result being several people killed and many injured. The pilot of the aircraft publicly boasted of his deeds. The marauding aircraft was located at the Pompano Beach Airport, Florida.

9. Diplomatic pressure of all kinds exercised to prevent the Cuban Revolutionary Government from purchasing defensive weapons on Western markets.

10. Sabotage and terrorism organized by the CIA, culminating in the criminal act of setting fire to the El Encanto store.

11. The reply to the Cuban note of 22 February 1960 ran as follows:

"The Government of the United States cannot accept the conditions for the negotiations stated in Your Excellency's note to the effect that no unilateral measure shall be adopted on the part of the Government of the United States affecting the Cuban economy and people, whether by the legislative or executive branch."

12. The sugar quota on the United States market abolished, with the purpose of constraining the sovereign will of the Government and people of Cuba, and in open infringement of international agreements.

13. The French steamship La Goubre, loaded with arms purchased in Belgium by the Cuban Government, was blown up in the port of Havana as the result of a large-scale sabotage action organized by the CIA, and dozens of Cuban workmen and soldiers were killed.

14. The credit of Cuban banks was cancelled; industrial firms were required to make payments in advance; Cuban bank accounts were frozen; and Cuban commercial aircraft were repeatedly attacked by the courts.

15. Military bases in Guatemala were used by the CIA to organize an expeditionary force against Cuba and to carry out large-scale preparations - with the assistance of the Pentagon, the State Department and President Eisenhower, and the complicity of the satellite Governments in the Caribbean area - for an armed attack against Cuba. The resounding denials by the United States Government of the repeated charges by the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and the rejection of his appeals in the Security Council of the United Nations - admitted and cynically published after the overwhelming defeat of Playa Girón - are evidence of the rottenness at the core of the foreign policy of the United States.

16. United States oil companies refused to refine crude petroleum purchased by the Cuban State from the Soviet Union, this being done with the deliberate intention of paralysing the vital machinery of Cuban economic life.

17. Diplomatic relations broken off, a manoeuvre conceived and carried out by the Government of former President Eisenhower as a preliminary step to the armed invasion upon which it had decided.

18. The United States naval base at Guantanamo has been converted into a bulwark of conspiracy, subversion, espionage and aggression.

19. Declaration of open economic war on the Government and people of Cuba; the convening of meetings of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the American Republics at San José, Costa Rica, and at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in order to involve the Organization of American States in collective armed action against Cuba; and the resurrection of the unilateral and anachronistic Monroe Doctrine. The United States Government gave its threats such a warlike tone that it called forth the warning of the Soviet Government in defence of the self-determination, independence and sovereignty of Cuba.

20. Bombardment by pirate aircraft, bearing the insignia of the Cuban Air Force, of the airports of Ciudad Libertad and San Antonio de los Baños in La Habana Province and the airport of Santiago de Cuba, leaving many dead and wounded. This treacherous attack was the prelude to the mercenary invasion that was annihilated at Playa Girón.

21. The landing at Playa Girón of the mercenary forces organized, financed and directed by the CIA, the Pentagon and the United States Government, which came from Guatemala and Nicaragua and were put out of action in less than seventy-two hours. The resultant debate in the United Nations General Assembly, President Kennedy's assumption of responsibility for that vile armed attack, and the unrestrained polemics that ensued made it clear to international opinion that there was a more than sufficient foundation for the charges of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

22. Attacks by pirate gunboats coming from United States territory on coastal buildings, harbour installations, and foreign ships carrying out loading and unloading operations.

23. Use of the United States military base at Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, for the training of counter-revolutionary invasion forces.

24. Massive violations of the air space and territorial waters of Cuba by United States military aircraft and warships.

25. The naval blockade of Cuba by the Government of the United States of America; the consequent placing of the world at the brink of a thermonuclear world war; and the adoption of subsequent measures aimed at isolating Cuba politically, economically and diplomatically, combining for that purpose threats, pressure and intrigue against its own European allies and a peremptory order to the majority of the puppet Governments which make up the Organization of American States.

The latest aggressive act against Cuba by the United States Government is the reason for this note. What have been the results of this policy? First and foremost, the absolute failure of its designs and the complete loss of repute by the Government promoting it, with consequent psychological and moral repercussions on a world scale.

Its main objective could not be achieved and will never be achieved; the Cuban revolution is now an unalterable historical fact. The efforts at creating political, diplomatic and economic conditions propitious to the destruction of the Revolution have been futile; the thorough plans conceived for that purpose have also been in vain. The United States Government did not learn a lesson from its rout at Playa Girón. Instead of reconsidering its policy, as events and good sense dictated, it persisted in its mad eagerness to destroy the Cuban Revolution by any means and at all costs. The Government of Cuba, convinced for its part that further aggression and armed attacks would not be slow in coming, took the appropriate steps to guarantee the country's security. As the Soviet Government and the Cuban Government had exact knowledge of the new plans entertained by the imperialists, their representatives initiated conversations concerning the existing situation and the appropriate measures which should be adopted. In the words of Dr. Fidel Castro, the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government:

"The measures which were adopted and the steps which were taken in the face of the certainty of aggression against our country concerned the strengthening of our armed forces and the sending of strategic missiles to our country."

Furthermore, at the request of the Cuban Government, technical personnel were sent to instruct the Cuban armed forces in the use of new combat equipment and to take part, if necessary, in the defence of the country in case of attack.

For the United States Government there could not be the slightest doubt that an aggression against Cuba would inexorably unleash a thermonuclear world war. The actions of the United States Government have placed and, if it does not alter its infamous and adventuresome policy, will continue to place the very existence of its own country and that of its European, Asian and African allies in the gravest danger.

What have been the implications of this policy for some of the European allies of the United States Government? Without prior consultation, it flung

them, during the so-called Caribbean crisis, into the centre of a fiery whirlwind which could have destroyed those countries. In the case of some of them - those, such as the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Italy, Greece and Spain, that derive a great part of their income from maritime traffic - it went even further and applied, and is still applying, pressure on them through the boycott of such of their ships as trade with Cuba, thus causing considerable damage to their people and arrogating to itself the power to interfere with or block the trade relations of a world which is no longer the closed preserve of anyone. It is also attempting by similar methods to induce Mexico, Canada and Spain - contrary to the international air agreements acceded to by our country - to cancel the permits for Cuban commercial aircraft to land at their airports and to discontinue the Mexican and Spanish air routes serving Cuba.

And what has happened to some of the most submissive allies of the United States Government in Latin America, and more especially those which have boasted of their hostility to the Government and people of Cuba? One by one - Frondizi, Prado, Idígoras, Arosemena - they have been swept from power by the "gorillas" urged on and protected by the CIA and the Pentagon, implicated in the muddy wave of disgrace which has irretrievably compromised the so-called Alliance for Progress and reduced the OAS, a mere colonial dependency of the State Department, to a mockery. While this is happening to the unpopular and discredited Governments which the Government of the United States of America aids and supports, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is firmly establishing its prestige and stability and is strengthening and expanding its diplomatic relations with the rest of the world. And the Governments of Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay, each of them respected for a foreign policy based on principle, have also maintained their prestige and stability.

The responsibility for this series of overthrown Governments is attributable exclusively to the unprincipled foreign policy of the United States Government. It sets them up and overthrows them at its pleasure and convenience, or they are overthrown by the aggressive circles which conspire within the government against a given trend or direction of its own policy. The sowing of intrigue, plots and incompetence can have no other harvest.

It is, in fact, the United States monopolies - and not the Revolutionary Government of Cuba - which foment and organize subversion in Latin America with their system of exploitation, ignorance, unemployment, poverty, servitude and pillage, aided and abetted by the economic oligarchies, the political cliques and the military factions in their service. That is the logical result of the United States Government's unscrupulous policy, as is the growing revolt of the peoples who suffer from it in the name of "representative democracy", "hemispheric solidarity", the "free world" and "Western culture".

The United States Government knows full well that it is deliberately lying when it says that the most recent measures of extortion were taken to prevent the transfer of Cuban funds for the purpose of promoting subversion in Latin America. They are attempting by this absurd pretext to cover their sinister design of preventing Cuba from using the dollars earned through legitimate financial and commercial transactions - the resources that we obtain through the work of the Cuban people and do not snatch from the workers of other countries, as the United States monopolies are doing throughout the length and breadth of Latin America - to buy food and medicine for Cuban children, believing that as a result of such a cruel measure they will bring about the collapse of the Revolutionary Government. Such an assumption is both puerile and villainous. The Government and people of Cuba will overcome any difficulties and disturbances that may be caused by these further measures of economic aggression in the same way that they overcame previous obstacles and difficulties: by their own means, the continued assistance of the socialist countries and the firm stand taken by countries with which we maintain normal relations. Cuba will also win this battle, to the detriment of the already battered international prestige of the United States Government, which, through its blind, unwise and egoistic actions, has already become one of the greatest collectors of defeats in the annals of history, one of the most prominent examples being its daily reversals in South Viet-Nam in spite of the bloody and barbaric war that it has cruelly unleashed against patriots who are reconquering, inch by inch, the national territory which was usurped with the connivance of a venal and blood-thirsty little tyrant.

The facts will show that while the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has always been prepared to settle, in a dignified manner, its differences with the United States Government, the latter has continually refused to accept any other alternative than that of the policy of force and the cold war, ignoring the dangers that such a policy represents for international peace and security. There can be no more convincing and instructive demonstration than the following statement made by President Kennedy at his press conference on 17 July:

"I see no evidence that Cuba is seeking a more relaxed relationship between our two countries. The United States cannot coexist in the peaceful sense with a Soviet satellite in the Caribbean. I do not see that any progress is going to be made along those lines as long as Cuba is a Soviet satellite."

Cuba, which is the first territory to free itself of Yankee imperialism in Latin America but which President Kennedy, out of spite and impotence, claims is a satellite, maintains and will continue to maintain close and indestructible friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the country which befriended it and provided support and assistance in the most difficult moments of our workers' and peasants' Revolution.

Those relations are unchanging, as is the Marxist-Leninist character of our Revolution. And, if the United States Government is unwilling to accept this reality, events will prove to the United States that it can no longer, in this day and age, dictate its will to the peoples of Latin America.

Cuba is not the last, but rather the first, Socialist Revolution in this hemisphere. Soon, it will not be the Revolutionary Government that is isolated, but rather the imperialists and reactionaries of the United States.

However, the conduct of the two Governments is apparent in various ways and can be objectively compared. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has wanted and still wants to discuss its differences with the United States Government, without any prior conditions whatsoever. It is the United States Government that has never wanted and does not now want to enter into discussions, on a footing of equality, with the Cuban Revolutionary Government. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba therefore places all responsibility on the United States Government for the consequences of that Government's hostile and unyielding attitude, and it reaffirms its decision to contribute to world peace by defending, by whatever means may prove necessary, the inalienable right of the Cuban people to build their own political, economic, social and cultural life. The United States Government is once again being warned of the consequences of its hazardous attempt to prevent, either by economic blockade or by force of arms, the construction of a socialist society in Cuba.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Dr. Raúl Roa García
Minister for Foreign Affairs

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I ask you to be so kind as to arrange for this note to be circulated to all the States Members of the United Nations.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Carlos LECHUGA
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of Cuba
to the United Nations